2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

BLOOD RELATIONSHIP

Beni al-ʿAmm

101 619 614 The Rwala belong to the large group of tribes called ʿAneze, which is scattered almost throughout the peninsula and is divided into a southern and a northern branch. The southern ʿAneze comprise the tribes from which are descended the Ab-al-Ḥejl, Eben Ṣabbâḥ, Eben Saʿûd, and various clans of the Ḳahaṭân and Muntifeż. The northern ʿAneze are the Ẓana Muslim and Ẓana Bišr. The latter includes the Sbaʿa, Fedʿân, and ʿAmârât. The former include the Weld ʿAli and Rwala, who are also known as the Âl Ğlâs. All the tribes and [602] all the clans of the ʿAneze, in the opinion of the Rwala, have a common father and therefore are their *beni al-ʿamm*, their paternal cousins.

611 602 609 Only blood relationship on the father's side bestows the right of *eben al-ʿamm*. It is common to hear such a remark as: "His ancestor was not, at a remote period, our relation on the father's side; how could he now be our paternal cousin? *min ḳaddim ğeddeh mâ hu eben al-ʿamm čêf jeṣir lena-bn al-ʿamm*." or: "The Beni Ṣaḥr are more popular with us than the ʿAmârât, but the latter are closer to us by blood relationship than the former. The Beni Ṣaḥr are foreigners, we and they have no forefather in common. *Beni ṣaḥr aṛlaʿ lena min al-ʿamârât w-lâčen bel-ḳurba haḍóla aḳrab lena min haḍôlak beni ṣaḥr ağânib mâ lena w-lahom ğidden wâḥed.*"

Ẓbêʿân eben Ḥašmân of the Sirḥân tribe had encamped with the Rwala for more than thirty years (in 1909). He married a Rwala woman, and his sister Maha' married Prince Saṭṭâm, to whom she bore a son, Ṭrâd. Ẓbêʿân undertook warlike expeditions and raids together with the Rwala, he wore their costume, his sons speak like the rest of the Rwala, and yet they still belong to the Sirḥân. Their kin, or *ahl*, is not with the Rwala, but with the people of the Sirḥân. The paternal blood relationship, *ʿamâm*, and not the maternal relationship, *ḫwâl*, forms the kin, *ahl*. If one of the [628] sons of Ẓbêʿân were to kill one of the Rwala, he would have to seek refuge with his *ahl*, the Sirḥân, and the blood of the Rwejli would have to be expiated with the blood of a Sirḥâni.

602 827 Kinsmen on the father's side are more often needed than those on the mother's side, *ʿamâmeh alzam min ḫwâleh*. The

411 St. Etienne, cost 20-22 *meğidijjât* ($18-$19.80); its nickel
713 imitation, manufactured in Egypt and al-Baṣra, sold for 4-15
435 *meğidijjât* ($3.60-$13.50).

CARE OF THE PERSON

515 To cleanliness the Rwala pay but scant attention. Water must not be wasted, as there is hardly enough for drinking and cooking. In a sand desert they rub their hands and faces with clean dry sand. The clothes are washed and a bath is taken only when they camp near a large rain pond. The youths make their ablutions in the day time, the girls in the evening.
[296] The clothes are washed, as a rule, by a negro or a Ṣlejb woman, the mistress of the tent and her daughters looking on disinterestedly, scratching themselves all the while, for it never occurs to them to rid themselves of their lice or to cleanse their dresses thoroughly. Once in a while, perhaps, a wife will delouse her husband, *tefli brâseh*, a sister her brother or sweetheart, a mother her children, and women other women. Soap is kept only by the chiefs for their guests. For themselves they gather *ṣnân*, drying, powdering, and then using it in washing. I brought European soap to some women, but instead of washing themselves with it, they rubbed it dry all over their hands and body for the sake of its pleasant odor.

291 The tribes and even the clans of the Rwala differ not
8 614 only in their dialect, but also in their dress. All Rwala wear
184 the same dress, but of different colors, cut, and ornament. If a Rwejli sights a troop of riders in the distance, he can tell at once whether they are Rwala and of what clan. He knows this from their saddles and decorations on their saddlebags; the color of their kerchiefs, mantles, boots; the fashion in which they are dressed; their style of sitting in the saddle, etc. He can distinguish from afar a Freği from a Kwêčbi, and these from a Mur'aṣi. Still greater are the dissimilarities between the Rwala and the Sba'a or Ṣkûr. A stranger needs months in which to learn the differences in the dress of the various 'Aneze tribes — and years before he is able to distinguish the members of the different clans of the same tribe.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

by marrying the daughters of other chiefs. After six months or, at most, one year they divorce their young wives, regardless of whether they have borne them children or are pregnant, and marry another girl or woman, so that they never have more than one wife in the tents.

According to common opinion, a man should divorce his wife as soon as the one becomes disagreeable to the other. As the proverb has it: "Reproach a herdsman or a wife with nothing; if thou hast occasion to reproach them frequently, thou hadst better dismiss them; *ar-râ'i w-al-mara la tenâkerhom elja tabri tenâkerhom dâššerhom*." When divorcing a woman the man says to her: "Go away! See, now thou art divorced and may attach thyself to another man! *kowṭeri tarâč ṭâlež w-ar-raggâl 'âlež*." Or he says: "Thou art free altogether. Thy saddle cover is spread over thee! *Ḥazra' mazjî 'alejč ǧalâleč*." This means that in the same way as a saddled mare may be ridden by any one, any man may marry a divorced, and thus perfectly free, woman. The divorced wife gathers together her dresses, pillows, blankets, and rugs, saddles her she-camels, and loads her property. Just as she is about to depart the man says to her: "As soon as thou reachest the tent of thy kin and settest foot in the tent of thy kin, thy divorce will overtake thee in the tent of thy kin, *elja waṣalti bejt halеč ṭalâžеč jeǧîč jâṣelč ila bejt halеč*," for on the way from her husband's tent to that of her parents she is still under his protection. The moment she enters the tent of her kin, she breaks definitely the ties binding her to her husband and belongs to her *ahl*, kin, and to no one else. As long as her father is living, he is the representative of the whole kin for the divorced woman; after his death her eldest brother is the representative. If there are no brothers, the duty falls to the nearest relative, either an uncle or cousin.

The divorced woman may be remarried three times by her former husband. If he will not remarry her he proclaims: "Thou art divorced three times, *enti ṭâlež bet-ṭalât al-ḥawârem*." The man who divorces his wife without claiming what he has paid to her relatives may limit her freedom, *jeḥaǧǧer taḥǧîr*, by stipulating: "I let any one have thee except So and So, to him I will not give thee; *an-uḥallič likill aḥad 'oḳob flân* (or *kowd flân*, or *ṛejr flân*) *mâni mḥallič leh*." Or he may say: "Anybody may take thee but So and So, *an-uḥallič likill aḥad ja 'oḳob* (*ja kowd* or *ja ṛejr*) *flân*." When a man

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

it will not die but will be sick most of its days and will leave no descendants, and its herds will not multiply. 777

Just as every man and especially his pregnant wife wish that no child be born to them on the twenty-first day of the month, they still more ardently desire that it be born in the night of the fourteenth or twentieth, or on the day of the eighteenth. The night of the fourteenth is called *lejlet al-ḳadr*. A boy who sees the light of this world on that night will bring glory to his whole kin and clan — even to the whole tribe — and is therefore called *baḫît*. The night of the twentieth is known as *al-ḫatma* and is lucky, *zêna*, to any undertaking. He who begins a task on the eighteenth is sure of success, for that date is favorable, *waǧheh zên*.

But it is not enough for the Rwejli to observe time and day; he must also watch his surroundings, as there are favorable and unfavorable qualities both in human beings and in animals. Many a kin, many a clan, bears a good omen, *fâlhom zên*, others again a bad one, *fâlhom šên*. When meeting any of them on an important journey the Bedouin knows at once whether he can proceed farther or must return. A good omen is inherent in the Ḳa'âî'a of the Rwala tribe; in the Malḥûd kin of the Mfelli clan of the Fed'ân tribe; in the Eben Fnejd kin of the Rassâlîn clan of the Ḳmuṣa division of the Sba'a tribe, as well as in every pretty woman, *ḫurma min al-bwêheǧ*. If raiders approach a camp of some friendly Bedouins known to be possessed of a good omen, the chief or some prominent man from the camp rides out or runs to meet them with the greeting: "Hasten after your luck! *eflehow*." The commander, then, making his camel kneel, *jenawweḥ*, answers: "May it be a good omen to me, which I accept; *fâli w-ḳebilteh*." 777 787 614

Unlucky is the sign of the Bdûr of the Eššâge'a and Freǧe of the Rwala; of the Hwejaân kin of the Rassâlîn clan; of the Mwêns' kin of the 'Ebede division, but especially that of the N'ejm and Ġimlân, who breed goats and sheep in the al-Ḥaṣṣ hills. The Rwala never rest with the members of these kins or clans when going out on a raid but prefer to suffer hunger themselves and let their mares also suffer rather than to eat a mouthful with them. For each bite of food accepted from them brings failure, *'alḳafhom ḫaṣra*; yet on their return they have no objection to refreshing themselves at any camp of these people.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

777 787 ●614 are avoided by the warriors when on a raid; their hospitality is accepted only when some of the warriors are ill or wounded. The Ṣlejb tend the sick carefully and carry them home when they have recovered or bury them when they die. When the raiders are tormented by hunger or pursued by the enemy they do not hesitate to seek help from the Ṣlejb, who are despised by them at any other time.

[492]

777 787 825 Fig. 55

Fig. 56

Fig. 55—A horse bridle, *ʿanân*.
Fig. 56—Horse fetters, *ḥadîd*.
(See p. 378.)

Animals also have their bad and good signs. The fox, *al-ḥoṣejni*, especially is an object of the most careful observation by the Bedouin. If it halts on catching sight of the raiders and looks at the troop from both the right and left side, they know that they need expect no mishap but will return with rich booty, *fowd w-salâme*. A similar omen they see in a pure white mare when she breaks loose and, holding her head high, prances in front of the raiders as if leading them. When a hyena jumps out suddenly from its den and starts to hop at the head of the troop as if showing them the way, *ḥaṭam ʿala-l-raʿi*, they begin to urge on their camels joyfully, believing the beast's appearance to be a sure sign of booty. Two ravens flying above raiders from one side to the other cause the whole troop to shout joyfully: "Two ravens and a good omen! *ṛurâbên w-fâlen* [pronounced *fânen*] *zên*." A rich booty is to be theirs without doubt. Other good signs are a sorrel with a white spot on its right foreleg; a white camel; a white ass with a dark bluish stripe on its shoulders, *ḥmâr ḥaṣar* or *rsejdi*; and a greyhound bitch, *sleḳa*. A long poisonous snake, called *dâbb*, when found during some serious undertaking is killed and thrown into the air. If it falls on its back in such a way that its white belly can be seen, the omen is favorable. All animals which are considered good omens are called *aṣ-ṣlejḥijjât*.

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CHAPTER XX

VENGEANCE

The report of a death or murder causes a stir not only in the camp but throughout the clan and even the whole tribe. The nearest female relatives of the dead person tear away the buckles holding their shirts under the neck, scratch their faces with their fingernails, besmear them with ashes and sand, cut off their braids above the temples, wind a narrow white kerchief, *ḳṣāṣa bēḍa*, around their heads, and run out of the camp either south or north into the desert, where they cry three times: "Ah, woe is me! O thou father of mine! *wa' wejla jâ-bujjâ.*" Or: "Ah, woe is me! O thou little brother of mine! *wa' wejla jâ-ḫujjâ.*" The white kerchief they wear on their heads for at least a month. This is called *kaffâl.* 763

The men of the whole camp run out to the dead body, examine the wounds, and discuss the manner of death. Those who are not his kin on the father's side, *aǧnebânijje*, return to the camp, watch their tents, send out the news to the pasturing grounds and the nearest camps, and take care that neither they nor their herds come between the avengers and the culprits. 628 614 602

The guilt rests on the whole kin, *aḫl*, of the murderer; vengeance also becomes the duty of the whole kin of the dead man.[11]

AVENGERS AND PROTECTORS

The whole kin is bound to mutual protection, both aggressive and defensive, *jeṯred w-jeṯṯared.* The more distant relatives, i. e. those who are in the fourth and later generations from the ancestor common to themselves and the culprit, generally offer the avengers a two-year-old camel, *ḥelîl*, and are left in peace.

The avengers are called violators, *aḫl as-eṯṯwa*, or those who carry on blood feud in defense of the culprits, *fallâḥt ad-dama*, while the culprits are spoken of as the blood-stained, *damwijje, dâmijje.* The avenger proper is generally the nearest healthy adult relative of the murdered man; the first culprit

[11] See above, pp. 47–48.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

628 is the murderer himself; should he die a natural death in th
●614 meantime, his next of kin is considered the culprit. However
602 for the first three days after the murder nobody pays the leas
attention either to the avenger or to the perpetrator. Thes
three days are called the seething of the blood, *fowrt ad-damm*
or the anger, *za'al*, fury, *rejz*, or madness, *kar'a*. The avenger
ride out on horseback and camels to seek the guilty ones an
their herds. If they meet a little boy, an adult, or even a
old man of the culprit's kin, they kill him; if they meet thei
mares or herds, they cut their arteries below the knees of th
forelegs, *je'ažžerûnaha*, but must not drive them away captive

No one of the perpetrators must defend himself, for the
he would be deserted by his whole clan and even by the whol
tribe. The defense is to be left to others. Therefore the culprit
proceed with all haste possible to one of the more powerfu
chiefs to ask his protection. The first one to reach him cries

"Behold, we ask Allâh and thee to protect the hair of ou
heads from So-and-So, as well as the herds on our borders; *to*
râna blawbak [*bellâh w-bak*] *'an al-flân beḥafâfna w-aṭrâfna*.

The chief answers: "Welcome to us! May Allâh save you
lives! Ye are saved. Your pursuer has already halted. *Ahla*
w-sahlan ḥajjâkom allâh w-selimtu w-ḥâb ṭâlebkom."

The protector then calls his slaves, servants, and his whol
kin, hastens to the tents and herds of the guilty kin, load
the tents with everything that is in them on camels, carrie
them away, and drives the herds between his own tents. T
the avenger he calls out:

"Behold, your blood shedder has put himself, according t
ancient custom, under our protection; so beware! *târa' dûm*
kom daḫal 'alejna 'ala-s-swâni al-'atîža ḥassekom nafsekom.

The avengers then inquire: "Wilt thou let them stay wit
thee a short while only or for several days?"

"Beware, I tell you, and guard your hands from commi
ting violence!"

"We know well, tribesman, that thy protection is powe
ful, yet thou art not a protector of little girls, *'anejsi*, therefo
wilt not protect culprits forever, *mâ tezebbenhom ha'*."

"How many days truce will you grant me?"

"We will grant thee four [twelve, at the most] days."

During the truce the chief loads the guilty men's ten
and accompanies them and their herds to another chief. Shou
the avengers refuse to allow the culprits to go with their pr

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

tector to another tribe, their fellow-tribesmen will intercede in his behalf and compel them to abandon their vengeance altogether. For they have blackened the face of the protector and exposed themselves in turn to his vengeance. 628 614 602

In the desert there are chiefs, the descendants of famous kins, whose protection is universally known and respected, or, as the saying goes, whose face insures a safe journey, *waǧhakom mâši*. Such are especially Eben Ṛubejn of the Fed'ân tribe, Eben Ǧandal of the Rwala, and Eben Ṭajjâr of the Weld 'Ali. These send only a slave or servant with their protégé, whereas others accompany their protégés in person. The protector leads the culprits to some chief who is camping in the direction in which they are fleeing and hands them over to him with the words: [622]

"Behold, these are shedders of blood. I protected them from So-and-So, and now, hear me, I put them under thy protection. My duty will now be thy duty."

The new protector answers: "May Allâh keep both thee and them alive! They are saved, and their pursuer will return without achieving his object!"

From here they are conducted by the chief himself to another protector and emerge at length from the desert either among the Lhejb, who dwell north of the al-Ḥaṣṣ and Šbêḫ mountains, or among the Šammar âl Ǧarba, who camp between the middle Euphrates and the Tigris, or, finally, among the Sirḥân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwestern borders of the Ḥawrân. The camps of the tribes here named are universally recognised as places of refuge, where the culprits are tolerably safe. Now known as *ǧelwijje* or *ǧallâje*, they pitch their tents there and pasture their herds like everybody else. In case the members of a camp harboring the *ǧelwijje* catch sight of a strange Bedouin prowling around, they bring him before the refugees to see whether they happen to know him. Should he be recognized as belonging to the avengers, the natives tie his hands behind his back or fetter his legs with horse chains and at last kill him, if there is nobody to intercede for him.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR PAYMENT OF THE BLOOD PRICE

After some time the chief of the camp where the culprits have found refuge sends to the chief of the avengers this message: 628

SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF VENGEANCE

628 The wife, daughter, or sister of the culprit is never per-
672 secuted by the avenger. If his sister or daughter is married
562 to a man not a member of the culprit's kin, he also will be spared.

●614 Should a woman commit murder, her husband is not subject
602 to vengeance if he is not of her kin. He paid for her what her relatives asked, they have kept the payment and thus become liable for her misdeeds. The responsibility for the moral offenses of a woman is borne by her husband, but her material good or evil is the concern of her kin, *ḥaṭâjâka w-aṭâmika berkubt ar-raǧol ḥejrah w-šarrha lahalha*. The person whom the married woman can most inconvenience is her own brother; hence the proverb: "The brother of a married woman is far removed from any good done by her, but very close to any evil she may be guilty of; *aḫu sirre ba'id 'an al-ḥejr žerib 'an al-meṣarra*." If, therefore, the married woman commits murder, her brother is considered to be her chief accomplice. Her kin will flee, while she will remain calmly with her husband, unless he divorces her. The blood price is paid by her kin out of their own means. If she has received a few she-camels from her husband out of his surplus, *damâ'anteh*, she cannot use them for paying the blood price without his consent, because he gave her the animals for her own benefit and for the good of the children she has borne him, not for the benefit of her kin.

Again, should anyone kill a married woman, it is the duty of her brother to avenge her, but the husband demands com-
683 pensation. He who strikes a pregnant woman so that she
843 miscarries, *ramat*, before the seventh month of her pregnancy,
628 while it is impossible to recognize whether the unripe fruit of her womb was of the male or female sex, must pay twenty-five she-camels. If she miscarries in her seventh or eighth month or, as they say, hurries on the birth, *ista'ǧelat*, and the prematurely born child dies, the compensation for a boy amounts to fifty, for a girl to twenty-five she-camels. Should the mother also die, twenty-five she-camels more must be paid. These are taken by the woman's kin, the husband receiving what was paid for the child.

682 The husband who has paid for his wife in full, may kill
628 her without making himself liable to pay the blood price to
562

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

serves for special journeys. 3. *Rbâ'* is a tent for men only. Nothing but coffee is made there. Other dishes are prepared by the women in another tent, where they also live. Among the 'Amârât and Dahâmše tribes every chief has two tents put up, one for men, the other for women. *Bimdâḫel* is pronounced *bimdâhel*. The Dahâmše often replace the *ḫ* with *h*. 4. Ğezzâ' eben Meğlâd, a relative of Hâjes, was the war leader, *šejḫ aš-šdâd*, of the Dahâmše. 5. *Membâh* is something which we learn through others. 6. *Naḫwa* is the war cry of a kin; a warrior *jentaḫi*, when he shouts his war cry before the chief or his comrades to prove that he will not desert them; an oppressed man *jenḫa'*, when he shouts the war cries of some prominent men, calling them to his aid. Whoever hears his own war cry uttered by an oppressed man feels ashamed and has to give help or else lose his reputation. 7. The traveling companions were his relatives, with whom he was riding to buy corn in as-Samâwa on the right bank of the lower Euphrates. 8. The poet associates with strangers, the Rwala. Even if they were fellow tribesmen, *beni al-'amm*, yet they would not protect him as would his *ahl*, his kin. 9. Fahad's father was Hâjes eben Meğlâd, universally recognized as the best judge, *'âreṣa*. 10. Mḥammad eben Turki, the chief of a powerful kin. 11. Ẓâri eben Ẓbej'ân, an influential chief of the Dahâmše. *Zebûn*, instead of *zeben*, shelter or protector. *Aṭ-ṭîb* means a struggle, a contest or duel, with the stoutest hero of the enemy. 13. Maš'ân eben Bakr calls the camel herds belonging to his kin Ğaḥla, hence his war cry: *"Ana-ḫu ğaḥla eben bakr*, I am the brother of Ğaḥla, I am Eben Bakr!" *Radijje* is a common mare, *hdîš*. 14. *Flân meḏhabeh* (pl., *meḏâheb*) *ẓajjeẓ*, or *ṣidreh ẓajjeẓ*, is a narrow-breasted person, or one easily offended, who remains so for a long time; one who cannot exhale the anger from his breast. 16. Second cousins separated by two generations from their common ancestor, their great-grandfather, are included in the *ahl* proper or the kin bound to afford one another mutual protection.